DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 427 102 UD 032 745

AUTHOR	Potapchuk, William R.; Crocker, Jarle P.; Schechter, William H.
TITLE	Systems Reform and Local Government: Improving Outcomes for Children, Families, and Neighborhoods.
INSTITUTION	National Civic League, Denver, CO.
SPONS AGENCY	Annie E. Casey Foundation, Baltimore, MD.
PUB DATE	1998-00-00
NOTE	50p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Program for Community Problem Solving, 1319 F Street, N.W., Suite 204, Washington, DC 20004; Tel: 202-783-2961; Fax: 202-347-2161 ($8, plus shipping and handling).
PUB TYPE	Reports - Descriptive (141)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Case Studies; Democracy; Elementary Secondary Education; *Local Government; *Organizational Development; *Policy Formation; Political Influences; Public Policy; *Systems Development; Urban Areas; *Urban Problems
IDENTIFIERS	*Reform Efforts

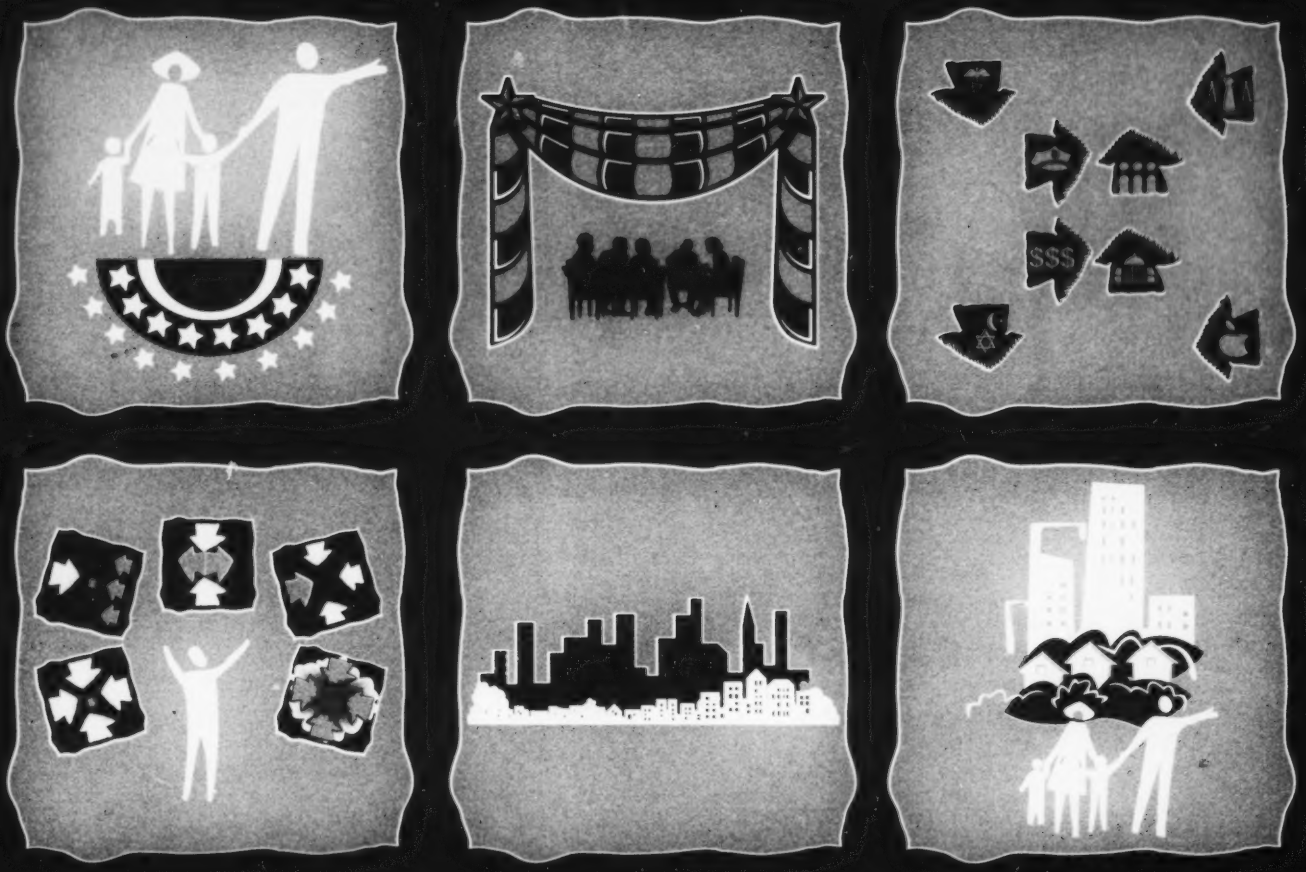
ABSTRACT

Local governments play a central role in improving the lives of children and families and in piecing together solutions to other major social, economic, environmental, and political challenges. Some ways to nurture and support systems reform activities in local governments, including those of educational systems, are explored. Systems reform can strengthen democracy, redefine citizenship, strengthen the role of government in community, and produce better outcomes for children and families. Seven elements have been identified as necessary to unify an array of programs into a complete transformation of local government. These elements involve the following actions: (1) seek comprehensiveness; (2) synthesize and decentralize services and supports; (3) employ results-based tools; (4) streamline institutions; (5) establish participatory and collaborative decision making; (6) build institutional forums; and (7) create structures that support civic engagement. Case studies of systems reform in Indianapolis (Indiana) and Charlotte (North Carolina) provide examples of the developmental process of transformational change in local government. Some of the critical barriers to systems reform are identified as resistant organizational cultures, polarized citizen perspectives, fractured intergovernmental relations, conflicts over scarce resources, and unstable policy environments. Overcoming these barriers can foster local government reform that leads to better futures for all citizens, and especially for children. (Contains 88 references.) (SLD)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 427 102

Systems Reform and Local Government



Improving Outcomes for Children, Families, and Neighborhoods

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

PROGRAM FOR COMMUNITY PROBLEM SOLVING
A Division of the National Civic League

Prepared for the Annie E. Casey Foundation

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
William Potapchuk
PCPS
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
2B

Systems Reform and Local Government

Improving Outcomes for Children, Families, and Neighborhoods

PROGRAM FOR COMMUNITY PROBLEM SOLVING
A Division of the National Civic League

Prepared for the Annie E. Casey Foundation

William R. Potapchuk • Jarle P. Crocker • William H. Schechter

PUBLISHER This document is published by the Program for Community Problem Solving (PCPS), 1319 F Street, N.W., Suite 204, Washington, DC 20004, 202-783-2961. PCPS is a division of the National Civic League, 1445 Market Street, Denver, CO 80202, 303-571-4343. The copyright for this publication is held by the Program for Community Problem Solving and the National Civic League.
© 1998 All rights reserved.

AUTHORS William R. Potapchuk, Jarle P. Crocker, William H. Schechter

PCPS The Program for Community Problem Solving offers expertise in collaborative problem solving at the federal, state, and community level utilizing a network of colleagues involved with collaboration and community development nationally.

ADVISORY BOARD
Christine Becker
National League of Cities
William Dodge
National Association of Regional Councils
Edward Ferguson
National Association of Counties
Christopher Gates
National Civic League
Elizabeth Jackson
International Downtown Association
Elizabeth Kellar
International City/County Management Association
Eric Stowe
American Chamber of Commerce Executives

PUBLICATION ORDERING Copies of this publication and other PCPS publications are available from PCPS, 1319 F Street, N.W., Suite 204, Washington, DC 20004, Tel: 202-783-2961 and Fax: 202-347-2161. Single copies of this publication are available for $8.00 plus shipping and handling.

Table of Contents

4 Acknowledgments

5 Foreword

7 Setting the Stage

13 Making Sense of Systems Reform

27 Looking at the Big Picture

37 Common Challenges

41 Supporting Reform Efforts

45 Endnotes

47 Bibliography

Acknowledgments

A paper like this requires many thanks. In particular, the authors would like to thank the many interviewees — community leaders, local government officials, practitioners, and others — who generously gave of their time and wisdom to inform our work.

We also wish to thank our colleagues at the Program for Community Problem Solving, who supported us on this long and challenging writing task, and our editor, Polly Dredge, who tightened up our early drafts.

Finally, we wish to thank Miriam Shark and Sandy Jibrell of the Annie E. Casey Foundation for their clear vision, gentle but effective nudging, and financial support. Without their leadership, this project would not have happened.

Foreword

The genesis of this paper originated from the ambitious agenda of the Annie E. Casey Foundation and our work at the Program for Community Problem Solving. The Casey Foundation is not satisfied with how kids and families are doing in today's society. In fact, they are very angry and appropriately so given the poor outcomes in many of America's communities. Their work, which seeks large-scale reform and change, has focused on multiple levels — within states, within communities, and within systems that deliver services to families. They also have been trying to figure out what they do not know about systems reform. As they focused on their work within communities, the role of local government seemed to be an increasingly problematic portion of the equation.

Many community-based reform initiatives operate outside local government. Yet, in most communities, children, families, businesses, and neighborhoods are touched more frequently by local government than by any other entity. Indeed, there are 3,043 counties, 19,278 cities, and 16,656 townships in the United States. How to harness their resources, leadership, and capacity on behalf of children and families is a major piece missing from the puzzle.

The Program for Community Problem Solving has traditionally worked in the areas of collaboration, negotiation, citizen participation, consensus building, conflict resolution, and related process specialties. Within recent years, our work has identified many barriers to effective collaboration within communities, some of them in local government. This paper is part of a larger body of work that looks at institutional and cultural barriers to effective collaboration in communities. Two related papers, also supported by the Annie E. Casey Foundation, focus on reinventing city planning and exploring the role of local government in building social capital.

From our vantage point, local governments play a central role in improving the lives of children and families, as well as in piecing together solutions to other major social, economic, environmental, and political challenges. While this paper may lead readers into the house of systems reform in local government through a door marked "Better Outcomes for Children and Families," other doors might be named "Sustainable Communities" or "Vital Local Economies."

Finally, this paper represents a much larger work-in-progress. It is clear that many of the approaches cited in the paper are not systems reform yet. These innovative programs appear to be ground-breaking efforts that will, in the future, lay the foundation for true systems reform. A recent book on corporate transformation suggested that the cycle of intentional change in the corporate world lasts from ten to sixteen years.[1] Transformational efforts in the public sector are more difficult. Although reform initiatives occurring around the country have come a long way, there is much work to be done. It is hoped that this paper establishes the direction of the path so that others may join these efforts to improve outcomes for our nation's children and families.

The Importance of Local Government in Efforts To Improve Outcomes for Children, Families, and Communities

People from almost every arena — parents and political leaders, millionaires and movie stars, public officials and private citizens — are working to improve the lives of children and families in cities and towns across the nation. In recent years, many efforts have concentrated on what happens closest to home, in local communities, in the belief that it is not possible to create better outcomes for children and families unless improvements are made locally, where they live.

Lessons learned from working with children and families over the past thirty years show that effective outcomes require the pursuit of unified, comprehensive approaches to social problems as defined by the people who have a stake in the outcome. By focusing on the local level, the emphasis has shifted from improving traditional services to crafting a synergistic web of services and supports, linking together major sectors of the community in new ways. Whether it is under the guise of community partnerships, collaboratives, community organizing, reinventing local government, state-local partnerships, or devolution, communities are reexamining and reforming the systems they use for delivering services and building healthy communities.

City governments play a significant and, in some cases, a dominant role in efforts to promote this ground swell of change. City officials are faced daily with families whose needs do not match up neatly with the eligibility requirements of programs funded by federal, state, or county governments. Each city addresses this challenge in its own way, based on available resources

and community traditions. Public officials who recognize the multiple roles local government can play in transforming the lives of children are creating new ways for government to work seamlessly in support of comprehensive reforms. This is the world of systems reform in local government.

Changing Environment and Roles for Local Government

The operating environment for local government has changed enormously in the last twenty years. From downsizing to devolution, from reinventing government to reduced federal aid and unfunded mandates, public officials from Albuquerque to Zanesville can count off a long list of the internal and external forces that are changing the way their cities work.

Progress on social and community development issues is no longer measured by a local government's ability to obtain federal grants and keep peace among community groups. Whether it is the result of a deliberate decision to change or an accumulation of pilot programs and short-term experiments that worked, local governments today are working with community organizations, nonprofits, and private industry on comprehensive approaches to all types of community issues.

As established patterns of doing business give way to these new arrangements, local government faces the challenge of redefining its role (see box below). Not only must cities improve what they already do, but they also must play new roles as convenor, facilitator, partner, and catalyst. One of the most powerful roles emerging for local government is that of convenor. By bringing together different sectors of a community for collaborative decision making and joint action, local government creates a greater sense of legitimacy and ownership for the solutions developed and strengthens trust between groups that ordinarily might not have much contact with each other.

The Roles of Local Government

The roles of local government have significantly broadened in recent years. Formerly, local government primarily performed the following roles:

- **Controller:** acting on the belief that government knows best
- **Regulator:** enforcing statutory guidelines and regulations
- **Funder:** providing resources for specific efforts
- **Service Provider:** bringing direct services to the community.

Now, local government is often called upon to play more process-oriented roles such as:

- **Convenor:** bringing together groups to work jointly on issues
- **Facilitator:** helping groups resolve conflicts and reach consensus
- **Catalyst:** making change happen
- **Partner:** combining government resources with others.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Some city officials easily assume a leadership role, providing a stimulus for a range of activities. In other cities, often financially strapped, officials neither want nor seek a leadership role. These officials instead may see themselves as potential partners in community initiatives.

The Strands of Reform

The first step in understanding the benefits and possibilities of systems reform is in being able to recognize it. Elected officials, activists, and advocates are familiar with several of the major strands of reform that are winding through communities. Focusing on initiatives already in place across the country sheds light on an array of approaches designed to change the way communities and government work.

- **Systems Reform in Human Services.** Systems reform, as a phrase, has its roots in the human services world and will be familiar to many in this field. (We have borrowed the term "systems reform" to apply to local government because we think the efforts are similar in many respects. For the remainder of this paper, systems reform refers to local government unless otherwise indicated.) Efforts to improve human services and educational systems have existed as long as there have been such systems. Recent initiatives in human services are rooted in comprehensive, community-oriented, integrated, and flexible services that support and preserve families. Some categorical collaboratives focus on specific aspects of the system, such as infant mortality or mental health, and others seek to work comprehensively.[2]

- **Community Development.** Community development corporations and their support networks have grown in number and impact in recent years.[3] These initiatives typically focus on physical improvements and increasingly on reweaving the social fabric of communities to create the vital bonds of affiliation essential for a healthy civic life.

- **Community Organizing.** Community organizing, which brings neighbors together for political action, has long been an essential feature of community change. Community organizers often believe that without dramatic shifts in who holds power in a community, real change will not occur. Some community-organizing efforts use adversarial strategies, while others have explored consensus organizing.[4]

- **Collaboration.** Many collaborative efforts are intent on bringing together disparate citizens and organizations to build relationships, resolve conflicts, and forge agendas for joint action. Like community organizing, collaborators seek to change the way a community conducts public business.[5]

- **Reinventing Government.** Reinvention focuses on the citizen as customer and the various strategies that can be used to achieve customer satisfaction. This approach, which has gained significant momentum, is being used at all levels of government and is most often traced to the book, *Reinventing Government*, by David Osborne and Ted Gaebler.[6]

- **Community Building.** Community building usually refers to the spirit or underlying thrust of efforts to create and strengthen communal bonds among neighbors, heighten community identity, and create political power. Growing research on social capital, which asserts that communal bonds are a prerequisite to community improvement, has heightened interest in community building.[7]

These short descriptions hardly do justice to the richness and importance of each of these approaches, let alone to the differences within them. Seeing each of them as strands of the larger fabric of reform will help illustrate the breadth of action that can be considered systems reform. Each approach represents different paradigms or different theories of change. Some are focused on service; while others build opportunity. Some create conflict to induce change; others seek to resolve conflict to promote change. Some are rooted in administrative and professional services; others are rooted in the community. In thinking about and planning for reforms, most local governments draw from all these approaches as they seek to find a workable middle ground.

The Promise of Systems Reform

Whether a city has one or twenty-one programs strung together along these threads of reform, it is important to consider the benefits of systems reform on a larger scale. Apart from the partisan debates that often revolve around government reform, there is significant evidence that systems reform creates an enormous opportunity to transform a community. This energy also can produce significant progress in efforts to improve the welfare of disadvantaged children and their families. By focusing on revitalizing the civic infrastructure of communities, systems reform can improve the fabric of civil society in the following ways:

- **Strengthens Democracy.** Systems reform efforts encourage individual citizen participation in the processes of democratic governance through visioning sessions, citizen review panels, neighborhood organizations, and other means. Working in partnership with community collaboratives helps to strengthen and broaden the number of social institutions taking part in community decision making, building new networks and relationships that may not have existed previously.

- **Redefines Citizenship.** Neighborhood residents have the opportunity to participate in making decisions that directly affect them. Collaborative programs challenge other members of a community, like local businesses, to balance worries about profits with what is best for the community they serve. As a result, governance becomes something that is done *with* others rather than something done *to* others.

- **Strengthens the Role of Government in Community.** By revising its structure and redefining its roles, local government can establish new relationships in partnership with nonprofits, the private sector, foundations, neighborhoods, and other community groups. As a result, government and governance become more meaningfully connected to civic life.

- **Produces Better Outcomes for Children and Families.** Innovative programs that bypass the traditional approach to human services address the whole constellation of problems in distressed neighborhoods. The result is a rich network of services and supports that integrates programs, citizens, neighborhoods, government agencies, and civic organizations. Together, these groups are able to get at the root causes of community problems instead of dealing only with the symptoms.

* * *

Children and family issues are touted by all political parties, but one infrequently hears anyone articulate the needs or represent the interests of the most disadvantaged population — poor kids and their families. With its emphasis on neighborhood-based programs and more inclusive, collaborative approaches to making decisions, systems reform gives voice to those who need it and holds significant promise for creating truly sustainable communities that benefit all citizens.

Systems Reform in Local Government

The systems reform movement is, by nature, fragmented. Responding to local needs by using available resources in flexible and creative ways guarantees that thousands of local governments will pursue a wide array of initiatives, defying easy comparison or specific categorization. The possibilities seem unlimited, possibly even chaotic, to those used to working in traditional, hierarchical organizations. Each program, department, local government, and state government is a separate system with its own functions, organizational structure, rules, and culture. But each of these systems is inextricably linked to other systems, larger and smaller, making it difficult to fix boundaries and design changes. To provide some clarity, this chapter identifies seven basic elements of systems reform. A brief case study illustrates each element in action.

Thinking About Change

But first, a few tips on thinking about change. With systems reform, change happens at different levels, preferably simultaneously. Change involves something as simple as creating a new public entrance for a human services agency to something as complex as redesigning the entire organization of city government. Regardless of the level of change, four common characteristics of systems reform help to distinguish true reform from just another way of doing business as usual.

Common Characteristics of True Reform Initiatives

When planning for change at any level, how does one determine whether the proposed change will bring genuine reform? How does one keep it from being just another way of doing the same old thing? A review of case studies identified four common characteristics of initiatives that generate true reform:

- **Multi-Level.** True systems reform requires an understanding of how change affects others in and outside the system. It also requires the recognition that change needs to occur at all levels. Often referred to as alignment, this term means that changes at each level reinforce and support each other. For example, an executive-level decision to change local government is supported by training for mid-level managers and line staff and accompanied by changes in the way departments and agencies are structured.[8]

- **Comprehensive.** The problems facing communities must be seen in their entire social context. Comprehensive initiatives systematically link traditionally separate but interdependent disciplines in local government. Pairing economic development with workforce development, family support with neighborhood revitalization, or school reform with youth development, are examples of comprehensive approaches to complex social problems.

- **Collaborative.** Increasingly, communities are recognizing that single entities alone are unable to solve complicated social problems. By working together, local government and community organizations can pool resources, expertise, and energy to work as more than the sum of their parts. Collaborative decision making helps guarantee that all necessary stakeholders are accounted for and that decisions are made with the support and input of those they affect.

- **Transformational.** Systems reform seeks to change the formal and informal relationships within communities. Bringing together local government with neighborhoods, church organizations, activist groups, and the business community to work on an issue like economic development represents an opportunity to include diverse perspectives. It also strengthens relationships within a community in ways that will far out last the specific project at hand.

Although change on the smallest scale might be difficult to identify as systems reform, looking for these four characteristics in larger-scale initiatives will help in evaluating whether the effort is designed for genuine reform.

Levels of Change

The first step in planning for change is deciding where to begin. One of the most difficult problems is where to draw the boundaries of a system. While starting points may differ, the case studies in this chapter show how the smaller pieces fit together and illustrate how changes in one part of the system often require changes elsewhere. To be most effective, systems reform must address three levels of change:

- **Community-Wide Change.** Change at the community level fundamentally alters the whole system of governance by involving stakeholders from all parts of the system. This is reform on the greatest scale, changing the parameters of what local government does, as well as how it's done. Convening a visioning process to seek input from stakeholders, implementing collaborative and inclusive decision-making processes, and developing neighborhood-based solutions to social problems are examples of community-wide change.

- **Government-Wide Change.** The focus here is on medium-scale changes in programs, problems, or organizations. For example, separate programs for economic development, crime prevention, and substance abuse prevention, which are normally administered by different departments, are consolidated into a comprehensive approach for working with at-risk youth by using caseworkers to create linkages among programs.

- **Agency-Wide Change.** This level of reform is generally conducted within a department, agency, or organization to improve its efficiency and effectiveness. Streamlining a permit approval process, combining services within a department, reducing paperwork, or reallocating staff time are common examples.

The Seven Elements of Systems Reform

Different communities approach systems reform from different directions. Relatively few cities and counties have implemented fully systemic initiatives to transform the entire structure of local government and the process of governance, but many communities are on the verge of taking this step. Others have multiple collaborative initiatives, each dealing with a subsystem of local government, neighborhoods, or a related set of social problems. The missing step is how to combine efforts to reach the goal of transforming both the structure of local governments and the way government relates to the communities served.

Internal and External Elements of Reform

This question is answered by the process of systems reform. It recasts the various subsystems in ways that support changes in other parts of the system as a whole. In general, a plan to unify an array of programs into a complete transformation of local government would involve the following actions:

- seek comprehensiveness
- synthesize and decentralize services and supports
- employ results-based tools
- streamline institutions
- establish participatory and collaborative decision making
- build institutional forums
- create structures that support civic engagement.

Each of these seven elements is illustrated in the text below by an example taken from innovative programs around the country. Not every specific example constitutes a requirement for systems reform. What is important is the relationship among the elements of reform themselves.

To conceptualize these seven elements of reform, it is helpful to think of them as embedded in two nested circles (see figure above). The inner circle contains the first four elements and focuses on changes internal to local government. The outer circle contains the last three elements and emphasizes the change process as it relates to the broader community and governance. Obviously, significant overlap occurs among all seven elements, but the figure underscores the importance of complementary initiatives that connect local government to the community as a whole.

1. Seek Comprehensiveness

Two aspects of comprehensiveness are important to consider.[9] First, programs that address individual ills often are insufficient because gains made in one area are overwhelmed by setbacks in others. Comprehensive initiatives address the whole set of problems facing a neighborhood or community.

Second, look for change that draws on the expertise and resources of multiple government agencies, civic organizations, and others in the community. This often requires a high degree of coordination and collaboration and sharing of fiscal resources, staff, and decision-making authority. Comprehensive initiatives try to align an appropriate constellation of social institutions so they can jointly address underlying causes of problems facing the community. The following case study illustrates both aspects of this element, with multiple stakeholders involved in a range of related issues causing social distress.

Serving Children and Families in Dane County

In Dane County, Wisconsin's fastest growing county, the community faced a rising tide of problems centering on the basic needs of children and families. In response, the county initiated the Joining Forces for Families (JFF) program in early 1993. By involving the Dane County Human Services Department, law enforcement agencies, school districts, the City of Madison Public Health Department, the United Way, the Madison Community Foundation, neighborhood groups, and residents, JFF leveraged a wide array of resources to get at the underlying causes of social distress.

To start, the JFF partners targeted specific neighborhoods, assembling teams composed of a law enforcement officer, a public health nurse, a social worker representing human services, a school staff worker, and representatives from the community. Often based in an apartment in the neighborhood they served, the teams focused on three basic goals critical to providing comprehensive services. First, the teams helped families work through a range of difficulties from simply getting a ride to work to more serious problems like substance abuse. Second, the teams worked directly with neighborhoods to engage residents in programs, planning, and supporting key social institutions like local schools. Third, the teams provided a link between local government, other organizations involved in the neighborhoods, and the residents themselves.

By bringing together residents, community organizations, and representatives from local government, JFF worked collaboratively with the larger community system. Equally important, the ability to call upon a wide range of services and the community itself, helped JFF teams deal with the interconnected nature of social distress in a more efficient and preventive manner.

2. Synthesize and Decentralize Services and Supports

Communities have been experimenting with decentralizing multiple services by locating service delivery in neighborhood centers.[10] Usually called place-based programs, these centers often function as mini-city halls in the neighborhoods served, allowing for more seamless service based on the unique needs of local residents. More than a one-stop-shop for efficient delivery of multiple services, these initiatives fuse together a complementary array of resources.

Decentralized programs emphasize the direct participation of citizens in developing, implementing, and assessing policy. An obvious benefit of this approach is that service providers and the public can share their expertise and experiences in crafting more effective programs. On a more intangible level, citizens increase their capacity to engage in making decisions that directly affect their lives, which, hopefully, translates into an ability and willingness to participate in civic life beyond the boundaries of the neighborhood.

Crafting Place-Based Responses in Little Rock

In Little Rock, Arkansas, many core city neighborhoods faced stagnant economic development, crime, and substance abuse. As part of a 1992 grant from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation to deal with substance abuse issues, the community responded to these problems by creating a network of Neighborhood Alert Centers (NACs).

The NAC program was crafted by the Prevention Response Team Network, which was composed of representatives from neighborhoods, neighborhood associations, and religious organizations; substance abuse prevention specialists; and staff from the school district, police department, and other city agencies. This group saw substance abuse problems as part of a set of larger issues confronting the whole community.

The NACs grew from nine original sites to fifteen. Programs were located in neighborhoods and were staffed by the Department of Community Services, the Department of Neighborhoods and Planning, and the Little Rock Police Department. In addition to dealing with substance abuse problems, the centers allowed city staff to bundle a range of social services including job training, housing assistance, and education programs. Each center had a neighborhood facilitator who worked with residents to build the community's capacity for utilizing different programs and served as a direct link between residents and local government.

Two key ingredients in the success of the NAC program are that it was based in and actively drew on the skills and resources of the neighborhoods it served; and program staff had access to a comprehensive array of services.

3. Employ Results-Based Tools

A key component of the systems reform movement has been its move from a system of accounting that tracks money spent and tasks performed to one that emphasizes results, accountability, and performance.[11] Examples of these new standards include outcomes like the number of children moved out of poverty, the number of jobs secured for welfare recipients, and the percentage of nineteen-year-olds that graduated from high school. Performance measures like these allow for a more accurate assessment of the use of public funds and can guide decisions in ways that better meet community needs. Poor performance on agreed-upon goals is often a stimulus for more radical and intensive systems reform.

More than just a new way of determining budgets, performance and outcome-based evaluation requires a high level of collaboration and participation, both within government and by the community at large. As flexibility for funding devolves to the state and local level, a critical piece of the systems reform agenda is the need for new funding processes. A new process would draw on the often disparate abilities of local government and communities to blend comprehensive programs, encourage public-private collaboration, and create more unified ways of accounting for the well-being of children and families.

Creating More Efficient Programs in Eugene

Faced with a deficit in its general fund, the city of Eugene, Oregon, used the platform of its 1991–1992 community strategic plan, Eugene Decisions, to engage the public in a dialogue on how to best address the shortfall. In the process, the city recognized the need to more clearly articulate its goals, objectives, and measures for all city services.

The result was the Service Improvement Program (SIP). The goal of the program was to provide the Budget Committee, consisting of eight city councilors and eight citizens, with performance measures for city services that could be used to make more informed decisions about resource allocation and budgeting. SIP used service teams drawn from multiple city departments to develop a system map, which clarified service boundaries, inputs and outputs, customers, and core processes. Based on this map, each team identified its mission, operating principles, and service outcomes. The team then developed a mini-strategic plan to guide its priorities for the next two to three years. Next, the team identified measurable objectives and system monitoring measures.

By looking at combined services as a system, the SIP approach encouraged cooperation among city departments in making decisions about

resource allocations based on system-wide priorities. The team-based structure had the additional benefit of increasing cooperation within individual departments, building the capacity of staff at all levels to engage in collaborative problem solving.

4. Streamline Institutions

A hallmark of many systems-based approaches to governing is the recognition that institutional support for new programs and practices needs to encourage efficiency as well as flexibility. As operating conditions for local government change, departments and agencies that respond to the needs of citizens, neighborhoods, and communities must be able to adapt and evolve.

Creating streamlined organizations that can survive in increasingly fluid social and economic systems involves three factors. First, many local governments have moved away from large, functionally segmented bureaucracies to fewer departments and agencies that integrate a broader set of functions. Second, organizational hierarchies are flattened to enable greater collaboration, both vertically and horizontally, across traditional lines and boundaries. Third, legislative and executive decision-making structures are consolidated to facilitate a systems-based approach for running local government.

Flattening Hierarchies in Louisville

After reviewing a number of private sector models for organizational change, Mayor Jerry Abramson of Louisville, Kentucky, chose to adapt General Electric's WorkOut program. The goal of the resulting program, CityWork, was to change the city's culture from a hierarchical and reactive organization to one that was fluid, team-based, and able to work collaboratively across departments, creating interdisciplinary solutions for problems caused by the way city government functioned.

The process was based on the straightforward assumption that people closest to a problem are best able to solve it. Any staff member could recommend starting a CityWork process. If approved, a cabinet-level sponsor assembled a planning team of two to eight staff from different levels representing a mix of knowledge about the issue. A facilitator worked with the planning team to address the problem, using brainstorming, benchmarking, and internal research. Then, one or more problem-solving teams of eight to twelve people developed solutions. Their recommendations were presented to the appropriate policy makers for approval, allowing for rapid implementation.

CityWork was especially effective at inspiring changes in the organizational culture of city government. The team-based process modeled a systemic and collaborative approach to problem solving. The use of facilitators in the problem solving meetings encouraged staff from different levels in the organization to work together as partners. Interagency teams helped cut across traditional bureaucratic boundaries, allowing innovative solutions to develop based on shared decision making.

More than 200 CityWork processes have been completed so far, resulting in changes to specific programs and policies, as well as the way Louisville's city government works. The program was recently expanded to include community representatives on planning and problem-solving teams where appropriate.

5. Establish Participatory and Collaborative Decision Making

For decades, the public hearing and citizen review panel have been staples of public policy. Participatory and collaborative efforts move far beyond this traditional approach.[12] To be truly participatory, the public and civic organizations need to be involved with the initial decision-making process on policies, as well as active partners and participants in the implementation of programs. In many ways, the essence of participatory democracy is in affecting public decisions by the inclusion of citizens in their formation, implementation, management, and evaluation.

Complementing the ethic of participation is a commitment to collaborative decision making. Communities often face a range of problems that can be perceived in sometimes radically different ways by citizens, interest groups, and other community organizations. Within local government, multiple departments and agencies can pursue different, and at times competing, agendas. By making sure that all the necessary stakeholders are at the table, collaborative decisions can be built upon the needs and interests of all those participating.-In addition, consensus-based decisions make sure that the views of those in the minority are addressed and worked into any final agreement. This arrangement is usually critical for building trust and broad-based support among the increasingly diverse populations found in many communities. These approaches create the foundation for durable organizational and community decisions.

Visioning in Chattanooga

One of the earliest examples of collaboration between the public and local government is Chattanooga, Tennessee's, Vision 2000 process. Concerned about extreme levels of pollution, a stagnant economy, and poor relationships

among its citizens, community leaders initiated the Vision 2000 process in 1984 to engage the whole community in shared planning for a common future. The initial concerns were focused on the problems listed above, but the Vision 2000 process ended up tapping into a larger number of social issues that faced the city. Since 1984, a main goal of the Vision planning process has been to develop comprehensive approaches for meeting the social needs of its communities.

Many community development projects undertaken by the city were based on innovative cooperative arrangements among local government, the public, and the business community. Financial incentives and a cooperative approach in dealing with regulatory issues helped change the attitudes of local industry and government toward each other and the environment. The process had a strong commitment to community involvement and participatory planning. More than 1,700 residents were included in the initial visioning process. Downtown and neighborhood revitalization projects, affordable housing programs, new initiatives for children and families, and new capital investments for development all emerged from the initial process. The results were truly astounding — 223 projects and programs, the creation of 1,381 jobs, and a total financial investment of $793,303,813.

In 1993, Chattanooga assessed the impact of the last decade's changes, culminating a year later in a new planning process dubbed Re-Vision 2000. Focused on creating a sustainable community, the new initiative sought to combine economic, social, and environmental factors in support of the city's continued development. Important highlights from the new process included an emphasis on building partnerships among business, government, and citizens; public participation in planning and problem solving; and ongoing community educational programs to support Re-Vision's programs.

What stands out about Chattanooga's effort is the long-term commitment to involve citizens in planning for the future and the public's continued participation and willingness to carry out many of the initiatives they envisioned.

6. Build Institutional Forums

Systems reform includes the whole range of citizens in the process of governance. It also builds innovative processes and structures that involve institutional partners directly.[13] Among the many innovations pursued over the last few years is the use of intermediary organizations to support local government and community collaboratives by bringing together public, private, and nonprofit-sector partners.

Systems reform is as much about creating new sets of relationships as it is about developing new policies. By putting in place a process or structure to sustain relationships with other partners in the community, local government can make progress on issues for which it has little direct responsibility. For example, many cities are turning their focus to youth issues, but it is often the schools, faith organizations, nonprofits, and others who direct local efforts supporting youth. Building institutional partnerships and recognizing when to call on them is a fundamental step for addressing these types of issues.

Creating Complementary Structures in Santa Fe

In Santa Fe, New Mexico, a city-sponsored planning process in 1991 crystallized public and government attention on the rising cost of housing for economically disadvantaged residents. The city adopted a strategic housing plan in 1992,[14] from which emerged the Santa Fe Affordable Housing Roundtable. This unstaffed coalition of city and county governments and nine local nonprofits became responsible for setting local funding priorities and policies.

The nine nonprofits had wide latitude in designing and implementing their own programs, which they administered individually. By retaining distinct organizations, the Roundtable allowed the nonprofits and city government to better coordinate specific programs, ensured that the effort did not fall into the trap of one-size-fits-all, and recognized the ways in which different nonprofits established connections with the distinct cultures in Santa Fe.

The Roundtable used consensus-based decision making and collectively negotiated which projects to pursue by comparing the goals of each against the original 1992 strategic plan. The Roundtable then reported to the City Community Development Board, the Finance Committee, and the City Council for final approval. This allowed the city to provide effective oversight while letting the nonprofits run the nuts and bolts of the program.

With an initial investment of $825,000 by the city for administration, the Roundtable leveraged more than $80 million in public and private investments. In 1991, the city provided housing assistance to just three families. By 1995, the Roundtable had helped 632 households, with plans to assist 863 more. The private sector overcame its initial skepticism of the effort and the city has continued to support local business with financial incentives and voluntary programs for inclusionary housing. By forming partnerships with nonprofits and the private sector, new structures were created that broadened the capacity of the community to meet its needs without relying exclusively on local government.

7. Create Structures to Support Civic Engagement

Traditional forums like community meetings are still useful ways to involve the public, but are not always suited to the complex, multiparty, collaborative initiatives that are coming to characterize systems reform. In local government, procedures and structures need to be created that systematically link different departments with neighborhoods, citizens, and key stakeholders. In a slightly larger context, local government needs to develop sustained efforts for building the capacity of citizens, neighborhood associations, and other community organizations so that all may participate as full partners in collaborative work.

This task becomes especially important given the need to link different levels of the community system. New structures are needed to link processes horizontally, like connecting forums for neighborhood planning across an entire community. In turn, these processes need to be linked vertically, so that neighborhoods are connected to decisions made in other social institutions, from the school board to the city council. These linkages help move citizens into civic engagement with other people and issues beyond their own neighborhoods, thus giving a stronger voice to the public.

Building a Comprehensive Neighborhood Initiative in Minneapolis

In Minneapolis, Minnesota, city officials realized they had to change the way they addressed neighborhood needs. A 1986 survey of the city's homeowners showed that, compared with past years, residents were more unhappy about their residential surroundings and thus were more interested in moving out of the city. In addition, residents believed that the government was spending more time and money improving downtown Minneapolis than on neighborhoods.

The City Council responded to these concerns by creating a Neighborhood Housing and Economic Development Funding Task Force in 1987.[15] A year later, the Task Force called for a twenty-year Neighborhood Revitalization Plan (NRP), which enabled neighborhood residents and businesses to design a strategy for reviving and improving the physical environment and social services of their neighborhood. Each of Minneapolis' eighty-one neighborhoods was to be involved.

The Task Force created a team to implement the plan. This team, in turn, created a structure for neighborhood participation. A community organization in each neighborhood was designated to be the lead, working with neighborhood residents to develop and implement a revitalization plan. By creating this new structure for neighborhood participation, the Minneapolis city government found that people were more interested in being involved in

local decision making. As evaluators noted, the NRP showed that participatory programs do mobilize an active citizenry with a strong willingness to take part in such a program if the structure is made available.[16]

After several years of experience, some dissatisfaction with the effort emerged. Community leaders sought to reform the effort to increase its effectiveness. To deal with this issue, a proposal was developed by the stakeholders to map inter-institutional arrangements. The proposal endeavored to broaden the institutional linkages identified earlier in the process and to ensure that neighborhood plans were more realistic and were also being implemented.

* * *

The difference between making a cake and making a mess is that great care is taken in selecting and combining the ingredients. The same holds true for systems reform. The specific elements discussed in this chapter cannot be mixed together simply in the hope that some magical chemistry will result. Each of the cities highlighted in this chapter have worked hard to lay the foundation for building qualitatively different local government. Most are still involved with the difficult challenge of how to broaden and deepen their efforts.

A Tale of Two Cities

One of the hard lessons learned by those working with systems reform is that eventually one bumps up against other parts of the system that have not changed. In response, reform efforts are evolving toward a truly holistic approach that broadly reinvents local government. By addressing the complex set of interrelationships in communities — from families and neighborhoods to larger systems of local economies and the institutions of civil society — these efforts can effect lasting change.

The following two cases stand out as examples of this level of systems reform. These cities have worked to reshape the institutions and policies of local government and to rethink the relationships that connect the pieces to the whole. This whole systems approach is challenging, but critical, for producing the transformational changes sought by local government and citizens alike.

Indianapolis: Inspiring Change Through Competition

When Indianapolis, Indiana, Mayor Stephen Goldsmith was elected in 1992, he inherited a city government with a history of professionalism and innovation. He also inherited an increasingly troubled inner-city, an aging physical infrastructure, and all the problems attendant with managing the daily functioning of America's twelfth largest city.

Like many other cities faced with similar challenges, Indianapolis took a popular approach — privatization. Goldsmith went even further, implementing a marketization strategy to let local government compete with the private

27

sector for delivery of nonessential services, thus reducing costs and spurring innovation. The city used the cost savings to self-fund many of its reinvention initiatives. Reinvention initiatives were focused on four areas: competition and municipal services, public safety, economic development, and neighborhood programs.

- **Competition and Municipal Services.** The city made a distinction between core services, such as the police department, and ancillary services, like window washing. For second-tier services, the city conducted a "yellow pages" test to see whether companies in the private sector were doing the same work. This comparison assisted the city in developing benchmarks for cost and quality and seeing how city services compared to market standards. Departments were then asked to compete with businesses in providing comparable services at a competitive prices. Overall, the city saved $26 million in the past four years by using this strategy.

- **Public Safety.** To improve the police force, the city followed a two-pronged strategy. First, savings from services subjected to competition allowed the city to shift its funding priorities in support of essential services, which resulted in a $26 million increase in spending on public safety from 1991 to 1996. Internal reorganization of the police force netted a 31 percent increase in the amount of time individual officers spent on patrol.

  Second, the city instituted a new community-policing program. By forming partnerships between the police, related city service providers, and individual neighborhoods, problems were often prevented before they led to crimes. Rethinking the role of police in the community — by emphasizing problem solving, genuine dialogue with the public, and building of relationships — increased trust and cooperation between individual officers and citizens.

- **Economic Development.** The centerpiece of the city's new effort was a $530 million infrastructure-rebuilding program that brought new life to struggling neighborhoods. In addition, it provided an environment more conducive to the growth and development of new businesses. Reforms in other city services made Indianapolis more attractive for businesses looking to relocate. Cutting red tape in city programs, increasing investment in local schools, and cleaning up inner-city brownfields created a positive environment for business. The city also assisted small businesses and minority- and women-owned businesses through its business-incubator program. This comprehensive approach to economic development allowed the city to fashion a web of programs that collectively supported the local economy while spurring continued growth.

28

- **Neighborhood Programs.** Much like the market-based reforms in other areas of the city, the goal of neighborhood programs in Indianapolis was to provide citizens a greater array of choices in designing and implementing programs that were responsive to their needs. At the center of this strategy was the recognition that individual citizens, neighborhood associations, and social institutions like churches and local business need to take an active role in building strong communities.

A New Focus on Neighborhoods

A central tenet that guided Indianapolis's reform process was the belief that strong inner-city neighborhoods were critical to the overall social and economic health of the region. Since Indianapolis had a consolidated city/county system of government (Unigov), the surrounding rings of suburbs were tied more closely to the city through a diverse tax base and set of political constituencies.

The initiatives set into motion under the neighborhood strategy had two main goals: 1) the revitalization of the physical infrastructure of the poorest neighborhoods in the city and 2) the creation of a vital civic life by empowering those same neighborhoods through the ability to make their own decisions about development. Mayor Goldsmith's Building Better Neighborhoods Program alone spent $530 million to repair and upgrade the city's infrastructure. The investment would not have had as much impact without the changes that took place in the systems of local government and in the city's neighborhoods.

Within the structure of city government, several significant changes took place. First, several city departments and agencies were combined into a new Department of Capital Asset Management. This enabled the city to centralize all resources and services needed for reform at the neighborhood level. It also made coordination and collaboration easier along the vertical chain of decision making. Second, the Department of Metropolitan Services was cut by one-third to help finance physical improvements planned by the city. Third, a new deputy mayor position was created to directly oversee the neighborhood programs and to be responsible for coordinating efforts of the Department of Metropolitan Development, the Department of Public Housing, and the Department of Capital Asset Management in the targeted communities.

Seven inner-city neighborhoods were targeted at the beginning of the process. Much of the initial work with neighborhoods was conducted by the Department of Metropolitan Development. A new Division of Neighborhood Services was created to oversee the implementation of the new programs. To start, fourteen public meetings were held in neighborhoods across the city to talk with residents about the quality of service delivery and to assess their priorities about how to improve the physical infrastructure of their communities.

As a result of these meetings, the city decided to create nine township administrator positions — one for each of the nine townships in the combined city/county area. Each administrator acted as a mini-mayor to ensure that someone in the city/county office building was familiar with the unique needs of each township and to provide a common point of contact for citizens and local government officials. The administrators helped coordinate implementation of the comprehensive plans for each township, held regular public meetings to gather citizen input, discussed the zoning maps, and generally worked through the issues and concerns of the community.

What the administrators soon found, however, was that the larger structure of the departments and agencies responsible for service delivery was out of alignment with the new system. Despite restructuring of the city bureaucracy, service delivery was still conducted on a city-wide basis, making it difficult for the individual townships to get resources for their specific needs from other parts of the larger system.

In response, the city moved to a system of geographically based teams for service delivery, one for each township. The township administrator was teamed with representatives from the departments of parks, public works, capital asset management, police, zoning, and health to provide greater collaboration among the different parts of local government. The teams worked directly on planning with the neighborhood associations in their townships, making sure that the $500 million the city was spending on capital improvements was coordinated efficiently at the neighborhood level and was responsive to citizen input about their priorities and needs.

To build the capacity of neighborhoods for working more closely with the city, two additional programs were created. The Neighborhood Empowerment Initiative, funded by three national foundations, provided neighborhood associations with training, technical assistance, and workshops to help learn how to work with each other and local government around planning and decision making. As part of this program, neighborhood associations were asked to come together under umbrella groups, which coordinated activities in specific geographical areas. These umbrella groups were each given a city staff person who acted as the neighborhood coordinator and liaison to the township administrator.

The city also set up a second program, the Neighborhood Resource Center. Located in a building donated by a local hospital, the stand-alone facility held twenty workshops and classes per year for citizens and neighborhood associations in support of community development work. The Center also acted as an information clearinghouse on programs and initiatives in different neighborhoods and townships.

Lessons Learned in Indianapolis

Based on the last four years of experience in Indianapolis, several lessons have emerged that may be especially useful to other local governments working through a systems reform process.

- **Provide Resources for Reform.** This is true both within local government and at the neighborhood level. As the new township administrators discovered, other parts of the system were not aligned to provide them with the resources they needed, necessitating the switch to geographically based teams to oversee service delivery. In some instances, at the neighborhood level, the city provided tens of thousands of dollars to individual neighborhood associations for implementation of their plans in addition to funding the city staff who worked directly with citizens. Overall, resources and decision-making authority need to be pushed down to the lowest level possible. This approach encourages innovation and actions that are truly responsive to the needs and interests of the community as a whole.

- **Coordinate Individual Reform Initiatives.** One irony of many systems reform efforts is that, even as departments and agencies are integrated at the upper levels of local government, individual programs and initiatives fragment at the lower levels. In Indianapolis, there was a fairly high degree of coordination at the executive level, by the mayor and his senior staff, and at the township level, by the administrators, but no clear process or framework emerged to support collaboration among townships and other mid-level programs and initiatives. Indeed, for the most innovative communities, such as Indianapolis, this issue represents the next stage in the evolution of systems reform.

- **Go Slow to Go Fast.** Early on, the city encountered initial distrust by citizens, especially in inner-city neighborhoods that had been neglected for decades. Building relationships that foster real collaboration between neighborhoods and their local government is not something that happens overnight, or even in six months. This is equally true for players within local government, as was the case with initial union opposition to several of the market-based reforms in Indianapolis. This difficulty emphasizes the need for stakeholder involvement in consensus and capacity building, especially during the first stages of the reform process. By trying to leapfrog past the important phase of building trust with key stakeholders, reformers risk damaging or significantly delaying even the best-intentioned of initiatives.

- **Build Capacity.** It is critical that city staff responsible for the reform process be given the skills, resources, and training necessary for making new initiatives work. In Indianapolis, one initial barrier to reform was a lack of capacity among mid-level managers, resulting in a much steeper learning curve. Among citizens, capacity-building efforts are a critical determinant of the ultimate success of reform. As in Indianapolis, many neighborhoods start the reform process without the skills and abilities necessary for assuming complete decision-making responsibility. Several initiatives, such as contracting out park services to local churches, were slowed at first by the need for all involved to learn about their new roles and responsibilities. General training and workshops, one-on-one mentoring, and education over three to five years are necessary to develop the foundation for full partnership with local government.

- **Identify Constraints in the Larger System.** State and federal regulations, laws, and political considerations can act as brakes that slow or stop innovation, and they can be exceptionally difficult to influence. Local governments need to pay attention to and coordinating the reform process with changes at the state level, especially as laws, regulations, and policies evolve in response to welfare reform and other impacts of devolution.

Indianapolis's efforts are especially interesting because they illustrate the importance of blending internal and external streams of reform. Changes within local government, around integrating departments and developing more comprehensive programs, were closely connected with new processes for planning and decision making, which, in turn, were designed to include citizens and prepare neighborhoods for taking a more active role in civic life. Savings produced by different reform initiatives within local government were used to fund many of the programs implemented in the neighborhoods. This example illustrates the critical connections between internal and external focuses of reform.

Indianapolis also aimed its reforms at the different levels of the system — from executive decision makers down to the neighborhoods themselves. The city took an iterative approach to the reform process, allowing it to make adjustments midstream and to coordinate programs among different departments, like the switch to geographically based service delivery.

32

Charlotte: Banking on the Future

Charlotte, North Carolina, a bustling city of 400,000, is home to many of the nation's largest banks. It has grown enormously in both population and land mass over the past thirty years and is clearly beginning to rival Atlanta as the capital of the South. Charlotte sought to move into the national spotlight through its large local expenditures for major league sports teams, through the rising prominence of its banking industry, and through largely unrivaled growth in its downtown skyline during the past twenty years.

Governed by a nine-member city council, which hires a city manager, Charlotte maintained a unique tradition in governance by taking city councilors, senior city staff, and community leaders on an annual field trip sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. Many trips included visits to cities noted for their successes and led directly to innovations back home. In 1990, the city's leadership decided on a different kind of trip — a tour of their own city. By all accounts, it was an eye-opener.

The Emergence of City Within a City

City leaders saw parts of the city they had never seen before and were distressed by what they saw. The older, original core of the city had not benefited from overall growth in the region. The reaction was clear; they decided to do something about it. That field trip resulted in one of Charlotte's most far-reaching innovations, the City Within a City (CWAC) program. This initiative was an ambitious effort to transform the core city — the area that comprised Charlotte in 1960 — into thriving, vital, and healthy neighborhoods.

The area served was a study in contrasts. Some of the poorest neighborhoods in the city were just down the road from palatial, suburban-style homes of the city's corporate leaders. In the city of Charlotte, approximately seven percent of children live in poverty. In CWAC, more than thirty percent lived in poverty. Of the seventy-three identified neighborhoods in the target area, thirty-two were without parks, twenty-eight had poor infrastructure, and twenty-seven did not have a grocery store. Much of the crime in the city was concentrated in CWAC. In Charlotte as a whole, there were approximately 125 crimes committed per 1,000 persons. In CWAC, that number was 275.

The CWAC initiative was largely funded through the city's general fund and was headed by an assistant city manager. CWAC is now among the nation's exemplary local government-directed poverty reduction and neighborhood transformation programs.

Key Elements of City Within A City

Two principles guided the implementation of CWAC. First, Charlotte viewed every neighborhood as unique, therefore a one-size-fits-all response would not work. Second, building momentum required action and, in CWAC, they vowed to act quickly. Both approaches had failed in other cities. The combination sometimes meant that a few, select neighborhood leaders were consulted and their advice led to quick action that few neighbors wanted or accepted. The resulting cynicism eroded political support and the programs sank over time.

Charlotte did it differently. One aspect of their reengineering initiative was to listen to their customers. Customers of their planning and community development professionals said that planning processes lasted too long and often did not lead to action. That customer feedback led to the creation of the Neighborhood Action Plans (NAPs). NAPs enabled an active, inclusive group of neighborhood stakeholders to work intensively with a multidisciplinary team from city hall in crafting a shared plan within six to eight weeks. These plans were not comprehensive, but they provided a focal point for strategic actions that everyone agreed were appropriate.

Unlike many neighborhood plans initiated by local government, these plans belonged to the neighborhoods. All participants signed the agreement at the end of the process and were responsible for parts of the implementation. For example, one neighborhood leader might draft a proposal for converting a vacant lot into a playground while others worked on a community policing strategy.

These planning processes led to intensive efforts by the city within targeted neighborhoods. In one neighborhood, the primary problem was drug trafficking and crime. Supported by concerned neighbors, the police department used a vacant house in the heart of the troubled area as a substation and cleaned up the problem. The row of once vacant houses were rehabilitated through the shared efforts of a local-community development corporation, Habitat for Humanity, the city, and the neighborhood association. Similar efforts, tailored to address specific problems, can be found in neighborhoods throughout CWAC.

Lessons Learned in Charlotte

- **Working with Teams from Integrated Departments.** The multidisciplinary teams employed by Charlotte in neighborhood planning were one manifestation of major reform initiatives within city hall. Once a traditionally organized city with almost thirty departments, Charlotte

consolidated all thirty into nine business centers and four support businesses. Some consolidations were based on the opportunity to achieve economies of scale. Other departmental functions were shared between the city and county to better address issues on a regional basis. The new Neighborhood Development Business Center included the former Community Development, Community Relations, Neighborhood Services, Employment and Training, and Economic Development departments.

The changes in city hall were deeper than removing boxes from the organizational chart. Staff in city hall were expected to work in teams. The teams were expected to be self-managing and to collaborate with other teams to accomplish their goals

- **Working from Data.** In addition to expertise, city staff shared data with their neighbors. An initial activity of the CWAC program was the development of a neighborhood data book. Each of the seventy-three neighborhoods was profiled, incorporating detailed data on housing, economic issues, neighborhood organizations, community facilities, community appearance, demographics, crime, and occupations. Updated regularly, this data book gave neighbors a deeper understanding of their own neighborhood and an opportunity to compare themselves with other neighborhoods.

  For city officials, the data book provided a set of indicators, enabling them to track progress and trends within neighborhoods. The city also used the data to classify neighborhoods as stable, fragile, or threatened. The city then apportioned its resources to areas based on need.

- **Changing City Hall.** Charlotte's local government organization focused on neighborhoods and changing the way it conducted business. Efforts to transform the organization worked at every level. The consolidation of departments addressed the community-wide level, the team orientation introduced mid-level change, and an ambitious training program reached front line employees.

  Charlotte's belief that neighborhoods are its businesses has fostered a focus on results, which, in turn, rewards an "It *is* my job" attitude. The positive reorientation toward neighborhoods energized the organization and helped it build synergistic relations internally.

- **Sustaining Political Leadership.** Until last year, Charlotte was led by one of the longer-serving city managers in the nation, Wendell White. Widely respected in the profession, White recognized the political dynamic of CWAC when he said, "It's the most exciting thing I've dealt with. It's also one of the most challenging. We won't be able to say we'll cut the ribbon on this in three years."

The city management team worked hand-in-hand with the city council to develop long-term support for the multifaceted approach. Following the field trip to visit Charlotte, city council members discussed key issues at their annual retreat. Council members also recognized the importance of and challenges embedded in the neighborhood-based initiative. That commitment undergirds the efforts in Charlotte to this day. Such efforts do not spring up from nowhere, nor are they driven by a single forceful and charismatic leader.

The Developmental Process of Transformational Change

When one sets out to analyze large-scale reforms, such as those in Indianapolis and Charlotte, it is difficult to know where to begin. In Charlotte, for example, one could start with the City Council retreat following the 1990 field trip taken by community leaders to visit the entire city. Or one could begin with a 1988 Civic Index process. Some might point to the creation of the Charlotte Mecklenburg Housing Partnership in 1984, the formation of the Charlotte Mecklenburg Community Forum in 1982, the hiring of Wendell White in 1982, or the organizing of the Westside Community Organization in the early 1970s. Each of these events was an important milestone in Charlotte's transformation.

As a city evolves, each phase of its development becomes linked to changes that occurred before, and each phase contributes in some way to additional reforms in the future. The collective impact of these changes may not be evident for decades. Civic leaders need time to consider the challenges they face before launching comprehensive initiatives for reform. In Louisville and Indianapolis, both mayors served at least one term before initiating reforms. In Charlotte, city manager Wendell White worked for more than a decade before merging city departments. Taking the time to build relationships with stakeholders, to think through the implications of proposed changes, and to create a picture of how the new system will work will provide a stronger foundation for reform efforts. In Charlotte, a two-and-a-half decade reform process is now bearing significant fruit.

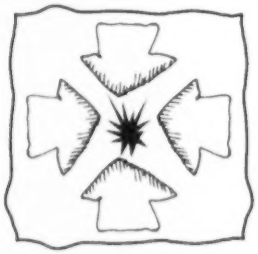
* * *

As illustrated by these two case studies, there is no set path for systems reform. Both cities successfully changed their external and internal environments, thus transforming the relationship between local government and the community served.

36

Each city has its own blend of social, economic, and political strengths and struggles that will shape the how and when of any reform initiative. Although initiatives may be as varied as the communities that develop them, there are several common challenges any city is likely to confront when attempting to fundamentally restructure the way local government is organized. Five critical barriers to changes brought by systems reform are identified, which, when ignored, can trip even the most determined reformer. Anticipating these challenges and considering strategies for overcoming them can add immeasurably to the outcome.

Resistant Organizational Cultures



Within any organization there are two main impediments to change. Significant restructuring usually upsets the balance of relationships, roles, and responsibilities among individuals and groups; and people's identities are often intimately intertwined with the jobs they perform. Local government employees are no exception.

Learning to rethink how a job is done while simultaneously being called on to play new roles at work is trying for most people. A public works engineer, who is used to drawing up construction plans then passing along the finished product to the public, may be hesitant to engage in a problem-solving process with citizens. Providing training and helping employees build their capacity for playing new roles is crucial to the success of any reform

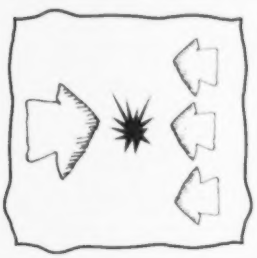
37

initiative. Rewarding employees' efforts to change, and sanctioning those who are repeatedly intransigent, can encourage many who might otherwise be slow to adapt.

It is important to acknowledge the needs and interests of all persons involved in local government, especially since one goal of systems reform should be to institutionalize new ways of working together. Avoid the tendency to freeze out groups that threaten disagreement or outright oppose the change process. A local government working with employee unions, for example, needs to be conscious of how the unions will perceive moves towards privatization, public-private partnerships, and the use of other community organizations to provide services.

The lessons learned by other communities engaged in systems reform reveal two ways for responding successfully to resistance: include all parts of the organization in the change process and do not force change from above.

Polarized Citizen Perspectives

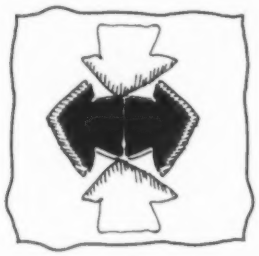


Citizens often can become polarized over specific policies and issues like education and welfare. It is no different when dealing with efforts to address a range of complex problems. When communities become polarized in conflicts about race, culture, and class, it can be even more difficult to begin public dialog about the reinvention of local government. In either case, the challenge is to bring citizens together in ways that acknowledge their differences and enable them to build consensus about how to resolve their common problems.

Many of the elements of systems reform discussed in the case studies can have a far-reaching impact on the sometimes delicate balance among different groups in a community. Changes often can create new sources of conflict. For example, a shift from elected to appointed offices or a consolidation of executive and legislative responsibilities may cause changes in political power held by one or more groups.

Whatever the source of conflict, citizens representing every perspective must be included in the process. The case studies illustrate again and again that even if all necessary stakeholders are represented from the start, conflicts may still arise. Conflicts can be resolved, if the process encourages broad participation, supports joint decision making, and achieves implementation.

Fractured Intergovernmental Relations

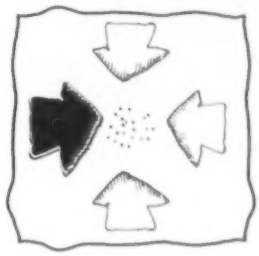


In the broad picture of federal, state, and local governmental relations, no simple institutionalized process exists to help different levels of government negotiate new roles and responsibilities brought on by devolution and systems reform. A common fear expressed among reformers is that rigid federal-state relationships will be replicated between state and local governments as block grants and similar reforms are adopted. In the past several years, changes at the federal level have come about, in large part, because state governments expressed their concern about unfunded mandates and demanded a place at the table. Local governments could easily raise the same issues with states.

One of the great promises of systems reform is its emphasis on placing authority for the design and implementation of solutions at the level closest to the problem. The success of local efforts can hinge on what happens at other levels of government. Poor local-state relations can frustrate local attempts at reform. It is essential to begin intergovernmental dialogues about these issues.

Intergovernmental problems are not limited to vertical relationships. As cities and counties look toward the future, an obvious next step in the systems reform agenda is to increase the level of collaboration among local governments. While local governments already work with each other on a range of issues, the processes used are generally *ad hoc* and are rarely institutionalized. Conflicts between core cities and the suburbs, urban and rural areas, and within regions, can pose an added challenge. If local governments are to expand their collaborative ventures on a long-term basis, they will need a new governance infrastructure to support their efforts.

Conflicts Over Scarce Resources



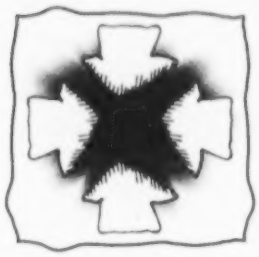
Concerns about efficiency and cost-effectiveness in human service programs are driven by citizens worried about the way their tax dollars are being spent, as well as the reality that local governments are being asked to do more with less. In many cases, demands for services are increasing as resources are declining. Agencies and departments may be less inclined to collaborate on reforms if it means walking away from the table with a smaller department, budget, or set of programmatic responsibilities. Charlotte and Indianapolis, however, developed a different

approach — both cities expanded geographically over the years, capturing a new tax base. Other cities may look for commissions or other quasi-political structures with a regional reach to play the role of catalyst, or to create an opportunity for a redistribution of resources.

Timing of the reform process is another factor to consider. In many cases, a local government may need to increase spending in the short term during the process of reorganization and systems change. General resistance to raising taxes, even for a relatively short period, can limit the latitude for wide-scale reform.

Many models for organizational change identify crisis as the primary cause for truly systemic change. Finding ways to redistribute resources and planning the timing of reforms means setting the change process in motion before a crisis begins. The longer a local government waits to develop new norms for collaboration, joint decision making, and other forms of inter-departmental cooperation, the more difficult such changes will become as resources shrink.

Unstable Policy Environment



A final challenge is the rapid and uncoordinated change that is occurring in the broader policy environment. Much of the federal legislation passed in the last several years has not fully embraced innovations developed by state and local governments. In turn, new federal legislation on welfare reform and related issues is likely to result in state responses that will inevitably affect what occurs at the local level.

In many instances, local governments will be hard-pressed to pursue their own agenda for systems reform while simultaneously responding to the often rapid policy changes at the state and federal level. Again, regular dialogue with state and federal governments would help to smooth this process, but remains to be institutionalized in practice.

* * *

The combination of barriers to reform faced by each city will depend on its own history, traditions, strengths, and resources. Taking the time to carefully consider these five challenges when developing a blueprint for change may help cities avoid unnecessary pitfalls. These challenges can be overcome if local government has a clear vision and agenda for systems reform and a solid grasp of the difficult issues to be addressed.

A Preliminary Agenda for Local Government

Many mayors, city managers, and community leaders want to lead their local government in the direction of reform with a particular focus on improving the welfare of children, their families, and the neighborhoods where they live. Yet, this document stands alone. Similar documents have not been published. Most of the reinvention literature focuses on internal reform. How-to manuals are nonexistent. Few analysts are researching these efforts. Those leading these efforts often feel alone, unaware of and unable to connect with similar efforts around the country.

This paper is a modest beginning, an attempt to identify ways that will nurture and support these important reform activities. The preliminary agenda proposed here should be crafted further by local government leaders and those who have a stake in how the future unfolds. It is hoped that a lively conversation will ensue.

The Research Agenda

A synthesis of the diverse efforts at systems reform points to a number of principles and practices that can be applied by local government. Many significant questions remain unanswered and deserve further consideration. A research agenda focusing on significant knowledge gaps in the field could address the following questions:

- What are the different local government organizational restructuring models? Which work most effectively? What are the challenges to their implementation?

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

41

- How have local governments shifted their focus to neighborhood-based programs and services?
- With this shift, how do they link programs and manage data collection? How do they engage citizens at the neighborhood level?
- How can local government structure its efforts in ways that promote community building and social capital formation that leads to better outcomes for children, families, and neighborhoods?
- What are effective strategies for overcoming resistance to change? How can local government work effectively with labor unions and employees to transform local government?
- What are effective roles for local government in working with comprehensive community initiatives? How can local government systems reform efforts be conducted in parallel with other significant and related initiatives?
- How does local government build a community consensus and political will for systems change efforts with a diverse citizenry?
- And ultimately, do systems reform initiatives in local government help communities attain better outcomes for children, families, and neighborhoods?

These are but a few of the many practically oriented research challenges that remain. Further exploration of these and other questions could support efforts already underway and encourage even more cities to consider new approaches for solving the complex problems that limit the opportunities available to children and their families.

The Resource Development Agenda

The range of resources available to local governments has grown enormously in the last decade. Increasingly sophisticated support by organizations that provide technical assistance has helped create a new mini-industry and a variety of resources, how-to guides, sites on the World Wide Web, conferences, and workshops for local government.

Resources on reform in local government should be developed with an eye toward using existing organizations and networks for dissemination. Resources, on paper or in cyberspace, are needed to address the many topics identified in the research agenda, as well as the pressing need for a prescriptive how-to literature. In addition, definitional and inspirational pieces could be developed to help a broader audience of local government officials become aware of these approaches.

Building Networks of Support

Local government innovators are increasingly seeking to learn from each other as word of a wide variety of initiatives makes its way through the various grapevines. Indeed, many of the efforts cited in this paper have been recognized as exemplary in other venues. Although conventional wisdom suggests that we learn best from our peers, opportunities are rare for local officials involved in these efforts to learn from peers in other communities. Furthering a reform agenda in local government may best be supported by creating a city-to-city network that brings together teams from cities pursuing similar agendas to learn from each other.

In particular, these networks could be established by identifying and linking local government grantees through existing philanthropic and federal funding sources. Examples of such organizations include the Annie E. Casey Foundation, the Pew Partnership for Civic Change, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, and the Ford Foundation, as well as Empowerment Zone Communities and other similar programs.

Local governments also get important support from their membership associations, the National League of Cities, the National Association of Counties, the International City/County Management Association, and others. These organizations, individually and through joint efforts, offer an important platform for convening, facilitating, and nurturing the development of such a network.

* * *

Much has been written about topics that could arguably fall under the heading of systems reform — privatizing government services, integrating programs and departments, and involving citizens in collaborative decision making. The goal of this paper has been to shed light on how systems reform can transform the way local government works in communities and how such large-scale change can transform the lives of children and families in neighborhoods everywhere. What remains to be done is to articulate the essence of systems reform in a way that can guide to communities contemplating reform initiatives while acknowledging that a cookie-cutter approach will fall short of the mark.

Despite the best efforts of many dedicated individuals and organizations, too many kids enter the system instead of growing up in a loving and supportive family, in a healthy and secure neighborhood. Reforming local government to support collaboration in communities can achieve real change in the lives of children, youth, and families. Such change is essential for the future of our nation's children. It is hoped this paper is only the beginning of an ongoing conversation about systems reform and that it encourages further efforts in this important work.

Endnotes

1 Edwin C. Nevis, Joan Lancourt, and Helen G. Vassallo, *Intentional Revolutions* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1996).

2 For further discussion, see Charles Bruner, *Realizing A Vision for Children, Families, and Neighborhoods: An Alternative to Other Modest Proposals* (Des Moines: National Center for Service Integration, 1996).

3 For a discussion of the growth of this field, see Neal R. Peirce and Carol F. Steinbach, *Enterprising Communities: Community-Based Development in America* (Washington, D.C.: Council for Community Based Development, 1990).

4 See Robert Fisher, *Let the People Decide: Neighborhood Organizing in America* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1994); Harry C. Boyte and Nancy N. Kari, *Building America: The Democratic Promise of Public Work* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996); and Michael Eichler, *A Conversation with Michael Eichler About Consensus Organizing* (Chicago: Donors Forum of Chicago, 1997).

5 See Susan L. Carpenter and W. J. D. Kennedy, *Managing Public Disputes* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1988); Barbara Gray, *Collaborating: Finding Common Ground for Multiparty Problems* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1989); William R. Potapchuk and Caroline Polk, *Building the Collaborative Community* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute for Dispute Resolution, National Civic League, Program for Community Problem Solving, 1994); L. Susskind and J. Cruikshank, *Breaking the Impasse* (New York: Basic Books, 1987).

6 David Osborne and Ted Gaebler, *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector* (New York: Plume, 1993). For additional reading see David Osborne and Peter Plastrik, *Banishing Bureaucracy: The Five Strategies for Reinventing Government* (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1997); Jerry W. Loehler and Joseph M. Pankowski, *Teams in Government: A Handbook for Team-Based Organizations* (Delray Beach, Fla.: St. Lucie Press, 1996); Russell M. Linden, *Seamless Government: A Practical Guide to Re-engineering the Public Sector* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1994); V. Daniel Hunt, *Quality Management for Government: A Guide to Federal, State and Local Implementation* (Milwaukee, Wis.: ASQC Quality Press, 1993).

7 The classic article on this subject is Robert Putnam's "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Journal of Democracy* 1 (January 1995): 65–78.

8 For a thorough discussion of this issue as related to the Annie E. Casey Foundation's New Futures Initiative, see Julie E. White and Gary Wehlage, "Community Collaboration: If It Is Such a Good Idea, Why Is It So Hard To Do?" *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 17, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 23–38.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

9 For more information, see U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, *Strategies for Community Change: Vision/Reality* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, March 1994); Committee for Economic Development, *Rebuilding Inner-City Communities: A New Approach to the Nation's Urban Crises* (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1995); and Cleveland Foundation Commission on Poverty, *The Cleveland Community-Building Initiative* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Foundation Commission on Poverty, 1995).

10 For an extensive discussion of this issue, see Stephen Page, "Community Partnerships: Policy Tools for Devolving and Reinventing Human Services" (Paper presented at the Annual Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, 31 Oct. - 2 Nov. 1996); and Atelia I. Melaville and Martin J. Blank, *What It Takes: Structuring Interagency Partnerships to Connect Children and Families with Comprehensive Services* (Education and Human Services Consortium, 1991).

11 For a more detailed discussion of these issues, see Lisbeth Schorr, et al., *The Case for Shifting to Results-Based Accountability* (Washington, D.C.: Center for the Study of Social Policy, 1995); *Trading Outcome Accountability for Fund Flexibility* (Washington, D.C.: The Center for the Study of Social Policy, 1995); and Charles Bruner, *A Framework for Developing and Holding Comprehensive Reform Efforts Accountable for Improving Child Outcomes* (Des Moines: Child and Family Policy Center, June 1995).

12 See also William R. Potapchuk and Caroline G. Polk, *Building the Collaborative Community* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Dispute Resolution, National Civic League, and the Program for Community Problem Solving, 1994) 5–12; and David D. Chrislip and Carl E. Larson, *Collaborative Leadership: How Citizens and Civic Leaders Can Make A Difference* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1994).

13 See Atelia I. Melaville and Martin J. Blank, *What it Takes: Structuring Interagency Partnerships to Connect Children and Families with Comprehensive Services* (Education and Human Services Consortium, 1991) 20–35; and Barbara Gray, *Collaborating: Finding Common Ground For Multiparty Problems* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1989).

14 Ford Foundation, *Innovations in American Government: 1986–1996* (New York: Ford Foundation, 1996) 28–29.

15 Susan S. Fainstein, and Clifford Hirst, *Neighborhood Organizations and Community Planning: The Case and Context of the Minneapolis Experience*, Working Paper No. 77 (Piscataway: Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 1994).

16 *Ibid.*, 15.

17 The largest township now has two administrators, bringing the total number of positions to ten.

Bibliography

America Speaks. *Building a Framework for Democratic Renewal: A Working Paper for Government Officials*. Washington, D.C.: America Speaks, 1996.

The Annie E. Casey Foundation. *The Path of Most Resistance: Reflections on Lessons Learned from New Futures*. Baltimore, Md.: The Annie E. Casey Foundation, 1995.

Ballard, S. "Organizational Change Failure Indicators." *Public Innovator* 17, no. 1 (1994).

Barnes, William R., and Shelley van der Merwe. *City Halls and Family Friendly Communities: The NLC Futures Reader*. Washington, D.C.: National League of Cities, 1992.

Beckhard, Richard, and Wendy Pritchard. *Changing the Essence: The Art of Creating and Leading Fundamental Change in Organizations*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1992.

Born, Catherine. *Our Future and Our Only Hope: A Survey of City Halls Regarding Children and Families*. Washington, D.C.: National League of Cities, 1989.

Borsig, James B. *Neighborhood Service Delivery*. Washington, DC: International City/County Management Association, 1993.

Boyte, Harry C., and Nancy N. Kari. *Building America: The Democratic Process of Public Work*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996.

Brown, Prudence. *Comprehensive Neighborhood-Based Initiatives: Implications for Urban Policy*. Chicago: The Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago, 1993.

Bruner, Charles. *Realizing a Vision for Children, Families, and Neighborhoods: An Alternative to Other Modest Proposals*. Des Moines: National Center for Service Integration, 1996.

Campbell, M. D. *Outcome and Performance Measurement Systems: An Overview*. Washington, D.C.: Alliance for Redesigning Government, ND.

Center for the Study of Social Policy. *Building A Community Agenda: Developing Local Governing Entities*. Washington, D.C.: Center for the Study of Social Policy, ND.

———. *Trading Outcome Accountability for Fund Flexibility*. Washington, D.C.: Center for the Study of Social Policy, 1995.

Chaskin, Robert J. *Defining Neighborhood: History, Theory, and Practice*. Chicago: Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago, 1995.

———. *The Ford Foundation's Neighborhood and Family Initiative: Toward a Model of Comprehensive, Neighborhood-Based Development.* Chicago: Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago, 1992.

Chaskin, Robert J., and Clark M. Peters. *Governance in Empowerment Zone Communities: A Preliminary Examination of Governance Structures and Issues in Fifteen Empowerment Zone Communities.* Chicago: Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago, 1996.

Child and Family Policy Center. *A Framework for Developing and Holding Comprehensive Reform Efforts Accountable for Improving Child Outcomes.* Des Moines: Child and Family Policy Center, June 1995.

Chrislip, David D., and Carl E. Larson. *Collaborative Leadership: How Citizens and Civic Leaders Can Make a Difference.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1995.

Clavel, Pierre, and Wim Wiewel, eds. *Harold Washington and the Neighborhoods: Progressive City Government in Chicago, 1983–1987.* New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1991.

Cleveland Foundation Commission on Poverty. *The Cleveland Community-Building Initiative.* Cleveland: Cleveland Foundation Commission on Poverty, 1992.

Committee for Economic Development. *Rebuilding Inner City Communities: A New Approach to the Nation's Urban Crises.* New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1995.

DuPraw, Marcelle E., Richard H. Bradley, and William R. Potapchuk. *Implementing the Politics of Inclusion: Recommendations for Agency Level Initiatives.* Washington, D.C.: Program for Community Problem Solving, 1993.

———. *Implementing the Politics of Inclusion: Recommendations for Government-Wide Initiatives.* Washington, D.C.: Program for Community Problem Solving, 1993.

Eggers, William D., and John O Leary. *Revolution at the Roots: Making Our Government Smaller, Better, and Closer to Home.* New York: The Free Press, 1995.

Ehrenhalt, Alan. "Good Government, Bad Government." *Governing* (April 1995): 18–24.

Ferguson, Ronald F., and John DeWitt. *Civic Capacity for Rural Development: Ideas for Leaders of the Emerging Movement.* Cambridge, Mass.: Aspen Institute State Policy Program and the Ford Foundation, 1994.

Fox, Charles J. "Reinventing Government as Postmodern Symbolic Politics." *Public Administration Review* 56, no. 3 (1996): 256–261.

Frederickson, H. George, ed. *Ideal and Practice in Council-Manager Government.* 2d ed. Washington, D.C.: International City/County Management Association, 1995.

Frisby, Michelle, and Monica Bowman. *The Future of Local Government: Involving Citizens in Community Decision Making.* Washington, D.C.: International City/County Management Association, 1995.

Galbraith, Jay R., and Edward Lawler III. *Organizing for the Future: The New Logic of Managing Complex Organizations.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1993.

Gardner, John. "Leadership in the Cities: A New Model of Collaboration Between Business and Communities." *Leader to Leader* 1, no. 1 (1996): 36–40.

Gardner, S. L. *Community Accountability for Children: Cross-cutting Outcome Measures at the Community Level.* Cambridge, Mass.: John F. Kennedy School of Government, 1991.

Gore, Al. *Reaching Public Goals: Managing Government for Results.* Washington, D.C.: National Performance Review, October 1996.

Gray, Barbara. *Collaborating: Finding Common Ground for Multiparty Problems.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1989.

Herrman, Margaret S., ed. *Resolving Conflict: Strategies for Local Government.* Washington, D.C.: International City/County Management Association, 1994.

Hirschhorn, Larry, and C. Brentford Andrews. "Analyzing Productivity Improvement Programs." In *Cutting Back*, edited by Larry Hirschhorn, et al. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1983.

Hula, Richard C., Cynthia Y. Jackson, and Marion Orr. *Urban Politics, Governing NonProfits and Community Revitalization*. Washington, D.C.: Public Policy Analysis and Management Research Conference, 1995.

Hunt, V. Daniel. *Quality Management For Government: A Guide to Federal, State, and Local Implementation*. Milwaukee, Wis.: ASQC Quality Press, 1993.

Institute for Educational Leadership. "Reinventing Government." *The Octopus Times* 1 (1994): 71–106. Washington, D.C.: The Institute for Educational Leadership Policy Exchange.

International City/County Management Association. *MIS Report: Neighborhood Service Delivery*. Washington, D.C.: International City/County Management Association, 1993.

———. *The Future of Local Government: Involving Citizens in Community Decision Making*. Washington, D.C.: International City/County Management Association. ND.

James Bell Associates. *Evaluation of HHS Service Integration Pilot Projects*. Vol. 1, *Executive Summary*. Arlington, Va.: James Bell Associates, 1993.

Koehler, Jerry W., and Joseph M. Pamkowski. *Teams in Government: A Handbook for Team-Based Organizations*. Delray Beach, Fla.: St. Lucie Press, 1996.

Kravchuk, Robert S., and Ronald W. Schack. "Designing Effective Performance Measurement Systems under the Government Performance and Results Act of 1993." *Public Administration Review* 56, no. 4 (1996): 348–358.

Lawrence, Sharon. *Redesigning County Government for the Year 2000 — and Beyond*. Washington, D.C.: National Association of Counties, 1996.

Linden, Russell M. *From Vision to Reality: Strategies of Successful Innovators in Government*. Charlottesville, Va.: LEL Publishers, 1990.

———. *Seamless Government: A Practical Guide to Re-Engineering in the Public Sector*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1994.

Los Angeles Mayor's Committee of Children, Youth, and Families. *LA4KIDS: A Youth Agenda for the 1990s and Beyond*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles Mayor's Committee of Children, Youth, and Families, 1995.

McLagen, Patricia, and Christo Nel. *The Age of Participation: New Governance for the Workplace and the World*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler, 1995.

Medoff, Peter, and Holly Sklar. *Streets of Hope: The Fall and Rise of an Urban Neighborhood*. Boston: South End Press, 1994.

Melaville, Atelia I., and Martin J. Blank. *What It Takes: Structuring Interagency Partnerships to Connect Children and Families with Comprehensive Services*. Education and Human Services Consortium, 1991.

Meyers, Judith, and John E. Kyle. *Critical Needs, Critical Choices: A Survey on Children and Families in America's Cities*. Washington, D.C.: National League of Cities, 1996.

National Academy of Public Administration. *Building the American Community: What Works, What Doesn't*. Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Public Administration, 1995.

Nevis, Edwin, Joan Lancourt, and Helen Vassalo. *Intentional Revolutions: A Seven-Point Strategy for Transforming Organizations*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1996.

Nordheimer, Jon. "Welfare-to-Work Plans Show Success is Difficult to Achieve." *New York Times*, 1 September 1996: 1, 18.

O Connell, Brian. "A Major Transfer of Government Responsibility to Voluntary Organizations? Proceed with Caution." *Public Administration Review* 56, no. 3 (1996): 222–225.

Osborne, David. *Laboratories of Democracy: A New Breed of Governor Creates Models for National Growth.* Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1988.

Osborne, David, and Ted Gaebler. *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector.* New York: Penguin, 1993.

Page, Steven. "Community Partnerships: Policy Tools for Devolving and Reinventing Human Services." Paper presented at the Annual Research Conference of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, 31 Oct. – 2 Nov. 1996.

Parachini, Larry. *Exploring Working Relationships in Building Community.* Washington, D.C.: The Together We Can Initiative, 1996.

Peirce, Neal. "America's Youth: Too Jaded To Care?" *Nation's Cities Weekly,* 19, no. 26 (1996): 1–2.

Peters, B. Guy, and Donald J. Savoie. "Managing Incoherence: The Coordination and Empowerment Conundrum." *Public Administration Review* 56, no. 3 (1996): 281–290.

Pollitt, C. "Justification by Works or by Faith? Evaluating the New Public Management." *Evaluation* 1, no. 2 (1995): 133–154.

Potapchuk, William R., and Carolyn Polk. *Building the Collaborative Community.* Washington, D.C.: National Institute for Dispute Resolution, National Civic League, and the Program for Community Problem Solving, 1994.

Putnam, Robert D. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Rago, William V. "Struggles in Transformation: A Study in TQM, Leadership, and Organizational Culture in a Government Agency." *Public Administration Review* 56, no. 3 (1996): 227–234.

Randolph, Linda A., et al. *Starting Points: Meeting the Needs of Our Youngest Children.* New York: Carnegie Task Force on Meeting the Needs of Young Children of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1994.

Rich, Michael. *Community Building and Empowerment: An Assessment of Neighborhood Transformation Initiatives in American Cities.* Atlanta, Ga.: Emory University, 1995.

Schachter, Hindy Lauer. "Reinventing Government or Reinventing Ourselves: Two Models for Improving Government Performance." *Public Administration Review* 55, no. 6 (1996): 530–537.

Schor, Edward L. "Developing Communality: Family-centered Programs to Improve Children's Health and Well-being." *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 72, no. 2 (1995): 413–442.

Schorr, Lisbeth, Frank Farrow, David Hornbeck, and Sara Watson. *The Case for Shifting to Results-based Accountability with a Start-up List of Outcome Measures.* Washington, D.C.: Center for the Study of Social Policy, 1995.

Schulman, Kelly, and Sandra Reinsel Markwood. *Counties Care for Kids: Programs that Work.* Washington, D.C.: National Association of Counties, 1995.

Schwinn, Carole J., and David R. Schwinn. "On the Community Quality Quest, We are Not Alone." *The Journal for Quality and Participation* 17, no. 5 (1994): 8–15.

Scott, Stephen, and Charles Bruner. *Supporting Effective Citizen Involvement in Child Protective Services: A Guide for State and Local Officials.* Des Moines: Child and Family Policy Center, 1996.

Senge, Peter. *The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Practice of the Learning Organization.* New York: Doubleday, 1990.

Smith, Steven Rathgeb. *Community Organizations and Local Government.* Paper presented at the Annual Research Meeting of the Association of Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, D.C., 1995.

Stoecker, Randy. *The Community Development Corporation Model of Urban Redevelopment: A Political Economy Critique and an Alternative.* Toledo, Oh.: University of Toledo, 1996.

Susskind, L., and Cruikshank, J. *Breaking the Impasse*. New York: Basic Books, 1987.

Svara, James H. "Reforming or Dismantling Government." *Public Administration Review* 56, no. 4 (1996): 400–407.

Swaim, Steven. "Seeking the Voices and Wisdom of the Community." *Western City: League of California Cities*, August 1996, 9–11.

Thompson, James R., and Patricia W. Ingraham. "The Reinvention Game." *Public Administration Review* 56, no. 3 (1996): 291–298.

Troxel, James P., ed. *Government Works: Profiles of People Making a Difference*. Virginia: Miles River Press, 1995.

Walker, David B. "The Advent of an Ambiguous Federalism and the Emergence of New Federalism III." *Public Administration Review* 56, no. 3 (1996): 271–280.

Wallis, Allan, and Christopher Koziol. *Toward a Paradigm of Community-Making*. Denver, Colo.: Alliance for National Renewal, 1996.

Weir, Margaret. *Big Cities Confront the New Federalism*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1996.

Wheatley, Margaret J., and Myron Kellner-Rogers. "Breathing Life Into Organizations." *Public Management*. September 1996, 10–14.

White, Julie A., and Gary Wehlage. "Community Collaboration: If It Is Such a Good Idea, Why Is It So Hard to Do?" *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 17, no. 1 (1995): 23–38.

Wolff, Tom. "One Vision of Civic Democracy." *Western City: League of California Cities*, August 1996, 6–8.